10:Gusinde E-5 (1954) 1961 SC13 Goajiro SC13

Totemistic Property Marks of the Goajiro Indians /Totemistische Eigentumsmarken der Guajiro-Indianer/

by Martin Gusinde

Posieux (Freiburg): [illegible]
Anthropos
Vol. 56, pp. 531-542

Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files in connection with the HRAF Field Project

Human Relations Area Files
1964

/Title page/

10:Gusinde--1 E-5 (1954) 1961 SC13 Goajiro SC13

Contents:

1. Earlier Reports

2. Most Recent Reports

3. Concluding Remarks

In the middle of 1954 I set out from Caracas via Maracaibo to make anthropological observations in the settlement area of the Yupa Indians (1). In the narrow stretch of Venezuelan

1. M. Gusinde, "The Yupa Indians in Western Venezuela," Proceed. Americ. Philos. Soc., 100, 1956, pp. 197-222.

territory along the western shore of the Gulf of Maracaibo /Gulf of Venezuela/ I occasionally saw representatives of the Guajiro /Goajiro/ people (2) of every age and both sexes. It

2. The spelling Guajiro is preferred to Goajiro. Cf. "Etimología de la palabra 'Guajira /Etymology of the word Guajiro'/" in Vegamian, pp. 11-33.

was my wish to see personally the astonishingly favorable adaptation of these Indians to their unusually dry and vegetation-poor surroundings, in order to compare their ecological conditions with those of the Bushmen in the Kalahari of South Africa (3). Already from Bogotá on, Professor Adolf Staffe of

/531 cont./

121 114 3. M. Gusinde. "Bericht über meine südafrikanische Forschungsreise 1950/51 /Report on My South African Field Trip, 1950-51/." Anthropos. 47. 1952. pp. 388-404.

Vienna, who at that time was with the Internat. F.A.O. for Colombia, had been very helpful to me. Soon after our auto journey together through that dried-up peninsula, he died unexpectedly. My thanks to him are thus expressed here posthumously.

128 Only a selection from my ethnographic observations among the Guajiro people are presented here. They are preceded by what has already been ascertained on the same subjects by other authors.

1. Earlier Reports

105 115 At the time of the discovery of the New World, the Guajiro were the /532/ branch of the Aruak /Arawak/ group that had pushed farthest to the northwest on South American soil. Before the Conquest they obtained their livelihood from hunting and fishing, together with some agriculture. Animal husbandry, however, acquired considerable ascendancy through the introduction of domestic animals at the time of the Spanish colonization. Juan de Castellanos reported that as early as the period of his sojourn there (around 1550) quite a large quantity of livestock was present. Since then, and up to our day, this economic activity has undergone no structural change worth mentioning; at present, however, far-reaching efforts at accommodation to the so-called Western manner of thinking and way of life are seen (4).

4. Cf. Vegamian, Crist (1958 and 1959), José Augustín de Barranquilla, and others.

10:Gumilde--3 E-5 (1954) 1961 9C13 Goajiro 9C13

/532 cont./

185 Only a few accounts concerning the social order and po-
186 litical organization of the Guajiro are available from that
614 period. It cannot be ascertained when the Spanish conquistadors first found clues to the family groups existing there, true sibs /Sippen/ in the sense of modern ethnology. Father Álvarez José Nicolás de la Rosa (5) in 1739 described certain burial

[533]

5. Under "Álvarez" I am citing in the following the rare work, Flaresta de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de la Ciudad de Santa Marta /Anthology of the Santa Iglesia Cathedral of the City of Santa Marta/, compiled by Father Álvarez Don José Nicolás de la Rosa in 1739 and printed in Valencia in 1833. Francis C. Nicholas translated significant sections from this work into English and supplied supplementary notes which a trip through Guajira induced him to make. According to his judgment, "the book forms a stepping-stone to a study of the history and antiquities of the Indians of northern South America" /cited in English/ (p. 606). This translation, with the title, "The Aborigines of the Province of Santa Marta, Colombia," is to be found in American Anthropologist, 3, 1901, pp. 606-649. Pages 625-636 are devoted to the Guajiro.

ceremonies and in this connection made the incidental remark that they were held "according to the castes /clans/ by which they are distinguished" /cited in English/ (p. 634). He enumerated six, "thus: Casta de Guacamaya /macaw/ (this is the

105 /532 cont./
115 highest), Casta de Paguil, Casta de Guacharaca, Casta de
614 Mono, Casta de Machin, Casta de Gallinazo (this is the poorest)" /cited in English/ (ibid.). Explanatory additions are lacking. In the light of later successful inquiries, however, these few statements are given their full meaning.

Not until 1870 did A. Ernst publish an extended list of these totem groups (p. 329). He enumerated twelve of them and called them "tribes /Stämme/," which "have definite dwelling sites." He correctly separated from them the so-
101 called Cocinas, which "perhaps are a different tribe than the
175 rest of the populace and a vagabond gang of robbers that makes
578 all paths unsafe" (6).

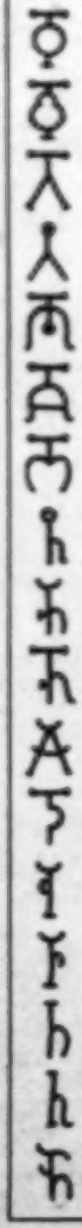
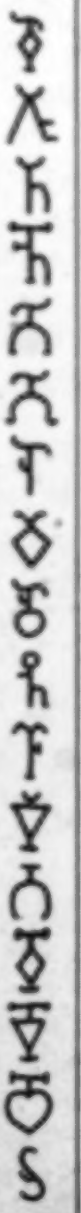
> 6. Father Álvarez had already referred to them as "more barbarous than any of the Guagiros, and consequently less tractable and more dangerous, horrible and proud" /cited in English/ (p. 635). In the same sense Stutzer (p. 136) describes them as "dregs of all castes. They murder in order to rob. It is regarded as dangerous to pass through their area alone or in small groups..." They do not merit further mention.

175 A few years later the British engineer, F. Simons,
614 traveled through Guajira. He related in his excellent report to the Royal Geographical Society (1885): "The Guajiros are subdivided into many families or castes, bearing much analogy to the ancient clans of Scotland. Each caste or rather family circle is united against all comers... Besides the name, each caste or family represents some animal, and many of the minor castes, over and above /533/ /a table appears here/ /534/ their

[text continues on p. 6]

Distinctive Marks of the Guajiro Castes

212
614

Mark	Caste	Place	Totem	Mark	Caste	Place	Totem
	Epieyu	Alta Guajira	Macaw		Hayariyú	Alta Guajira	Dog
	"	"	"		"	Castilletes	"
	"	Portete	"		"	Nazareth	"
	"	"	"		Uraliyú		Rattlesnake
	"	Jarare	"		Sapuana	Alta Guajira	Gaiay or stone curlew
	"	"	"		Pushaina	Jarare	Peccary
	"	Alta Guajira	"		Goujiré	Pto. Estrella	Partridge
	Uriana	San José	Jaguar		Arpushana	Alta y Baja Guajira	Turkey buzzard
	"	"	"		Huayú	Jarare	Rabbit
	"	Buenos Aires	"		Epinayú		Burro
	"	Pto. Lopez	"		Ulúguana	Alta Guajira	Machorro
	"	Cosina	"		Hirrú	"	Fox
	"	Alta Guajira	"		Pasinayú		Black wasp
	"	"	"		Sijuana	Yimaré	Bee
	Ipuana	"	Mushale		"	Pto. Espada	"
	"	Jarare	"		"	Alta Guajira	"
	Hayariyú	Alta Guajira	Dog		Guaririyú		Partridge

/The heading, the column headings, and the column entries under "Totem" have been translated from the Spanish./

/534 cont./

175 619 own symbol, adopt another of some more powerful denomination, to enjoy the privilege of a good protector. There are at present, altogether, some thirty odd castes among the Goajiros... There are about ten of importance, chief among these the Urianas. This, the largest caste in the Guajira, has subdivided or split up into many ramifications, such as Uriana tiger, Uriana rabbit, Uriana paularare (a song bird), Uriana gecko (lizard). This family is at present not only by far the most numerous, but also the richest; due to its connections by marriage with the Pushainas, formerly the wealthiest of the land" /cited in English/. In an "Appendix" (p. 796) at the end of his report, Simons gives a "List of Tribes or Castes, with their respective animals and favourite resting-places" /cited in English/; each of the twenty-two names is found in its proper region on the map provided by him (7).

174 619

7. Frazer (Vol. 3, p. 360) reproduced this table in full and clearly expressed his conviction that "the Guajiros have a totemic system of the normal pattern" /cited in English/. In connection with this, he discussed in detail the mother-right customs of this tribe. — Kirchhoff (p. 154) analyzed only the relationship between paternal and maternal relatives, so far as it was then possible when "the description of the kinship organization" was" /still/ most incomplete and unsatisfactory." He also clearly made the distinction between the extended family /Grosfamilie/ and sib and

/534 cont./

114
44

distinctly stressed that the sib "need not necessarily be a local unit... The bond that holds together the members of a sib is the idea that they descend from the same ancestor and are therefore brothers and sisters..." (p. 90). Actually, the clan members /Klanmitgliedern/ of any sib are allowed to move in complete freedom over all of Guajira.— Vegamian (pp. 38, 347), too, explained: "The Guajiro Indians are divided into castes /Kasten/ of totemic denomination" /translated from the Spanish/. He discusses in detail their local placement and explained the somewhat variable spelling of the clan names among the authors as follows: "Among the same Indians, perfectly expert in their tongue, there is no uniformity in the pronunciation of one and the same word" /translated from the Spanish/.

114
195
64

A. Ernst in his second report (1887) used the reliable details furnished by Simons and declared concerning them: "One gains from his presentation a clear picture of the peculiar social relations in which the inhabitants of the peninsula live. What the Spanish writers in their meager reports designated with the vague name 'parcialidades /factions, parties/,' Simons recognized quite rightly as family /Familie/ in the ethnological sense (clan, gens) and gave for several of them the habitual place of residence and the totem

/536 cont./

concerned..." (p. 408). "Most are no longer explicable from the present language of the Guajiro..." According to Simons, "there is no doubt that the Guajiro believe in their descent from such an animal... How far the use of the totem extends among the Guajiro is not said either by Simons or by any other reporter" (pp. 440f.). For such an animal, Ernst (1887, p. 442) regarded the valuation "totem" as proper and promised a linguistic analysis of the names for the twenty-two totem-animals named by Simons.

Individual clans /Klane/ exceed others in economic influence and social significance. The ones smaller in number of persons attach themselves to one or several others. The belief in the kindred solidarity of the clan members is grounded in the traditionally transmitted conviction /535/ /map appears here/ /536/ of actual descent from the same totem-animal. Ernst further states: "Since the individual families /& clan groups/ live, if not exactly in hostility, nevertheless separated from one another, marriage between members of different families /Sein/ take place only in rare cases" (p. 442); which is synonymous with clan-exogamy as the prevailing rule.

A series of names given by other reporters are found in part in A. Jahn (p. 142), Armstrong-Wilfrazo (p. 383), and R. Crist (1950, p. 481). Occasionally one has the impression that these authors drew on Simons and Ernst as their sole sources. The statements that the journalist J. Weston makes are false.

2. Most Recent Reports

What Virginia Gutiérrez has put down in her article, "Organización Social en la Guajira" (1948) comes from personal field research. Her article became known to me only after my crossing of the peninsula. The myth recorded by her, in which she still living in Guajira are mentioned by name, follows here in free translation. The same account was repeated to me, with a few insignificant variations, by

Text continues on p. 10

102
131
311
614

/535/

10:Guainde--9 E-5 (1954) 1961 SC13 Goajiro SC13

/536/cont./

114 two wives of the influential and intelligent Cacique Briscol
614 (alias Antonio Juan López); from both I was given the assur-
ance that it is known to nearly all of their people. In a subse-
178 quent conversation with still other women it became clear
614 that the social and juristic role of the clan system had become
simplified and dulled in the course of the centuries up to the
present, and above all that the original rigor of its demands
had become milder and in part even lost. Certain practices
still maintained and various fragments of tradition permit
one to piece together an adequately clear picture of the
totemistic organization in Guajira, despite many manifestations
of mother-right.

614 Our Indians have a mythological explanation of how the
whole Guajiro people was originally divided into many clans
[212] (8). Each totem-clan has its individual symbol, comparable

8. Petrullo (p. 155) supplements this by confirming: "Casta [is] the major social grouping in Guajiro society. Each casta claims a mythological origin and holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory" /cited in English/.

to a monogram. Every clan-member marks himself and his
614 personal goods, predominately domestic animals, with it.
212 The Indians paint this symbol with ordinary watercolor on a
422 stone, carve it in wooden objects (plates, style of a mattock,
221 house posts), tattoo it on their arms, etc., all in plain fun
and without any serious intention of demonstrating their right
of ownership. On the other hand, the same symbol, which is
peculiar to a clan, is branded without exception on every
domestic animal that the individual clan-member owns.
Obviously it is the same sign for all the animals of all the
members of a particular clan; yet the animals remain /537/
the personal property of their owner, and the latter himself

/537 cont./

614 knows precisely which animals belong to him and which
212 property belongs to other clan-members.
231
422 In a way also customary among us (for example, the burning on of the steed-brand for foals), the clan-symbol in Guajira is pressed into the skin of the domestic animal with a branding iron, usually on the rear leg, sometimes on
[413] the lower neck. The branding iron is a rod as thick as a finger and about a meter long, on whose lower end the brand, made in iron, is fixed. This is highly heated and briefly set on the skin of the animal with moderate pressure (9).

171
231
422

9. Everyone knows that many livestock-raising primitive peoples use the method described here for "branding" their domestic animals, and, to be sure, do it primarily with the intention of indicating the individual possessor or a group consisting of several men as the owner. M. Merker (p. 163) reports this for the Masai. H. Field collected more than a thousand such markings (Figs. 24-43) among the Bedouin and related tribes in the Near East. It might seem surprising that individual ones among them are very similar to the brands of the Guajiro. This correspondence, however, can easily be traced back to the mentality of the natives and their undeveloped technical skill, as well as to the brittle wrought-iron itself. The "branding iron" probably goes back to an earlier period of mankind; from its place of invention, it went on its way

/537 cont./

171 231 422 around the world simultaneously with the domestic animals themselves.

614 212 231 422 177 614 212 773 The branding described was probably learned by the Indians from the Spaniards themselves, simultaneously with the adoption of the first European domestic animals, and has been retained since then. It is all the more surprising that the branding iron (hierro) appears in an old myth which for its part clearly states where the customary individual clan-signs came from. The following version (according to V. Gutiérrez, p. 168) is common in the northern part of the peninsula:

Not far from Nazareth (10) a hill rises behind Itojoro.

[797] [131] 10. This post lies only several kilometers south of Puerto Estrella and is actually a small Catholic mission station. Cf. Stutzer, pp. 131 ff., and Barranquilla, pp. 151 ff.

Here, under an oil tree, Mareiwa (11) came into the world.

776 114 11. That is the spelling of this mythological name that I felt to be correct, as did V. Gutiérrez (p. 168). Chaves (1946, p. 307) explains in the myth concerning "Las Serranías de la Guajira," among other things: "Mareigua [is] one of the principal deities of the Guajiro people, who with his supernatural power converts persons into hills, separates the

/537 cont./

776 114 sea from the land and the planting of trees and animals to benefit man" /translated from the Spanish/. The original figure of Mareiwa is probably that of a culture-hero. Chaves (1953, p. 183) makes the same assumption, but adds that this personality is "at the present time like God for many mestizos" /translated from the Spanish/. Jahn (p. 183) declares "that the Spanish have identified /Maleiwa/ with the true God or Supreme Being" /translated from the Spanish/. In Torrano (p. 188) one reads "Maréigua = God, Supreme Being" /translated from the Spanish/. Unfortunately even today it is still true that the "Goajiro religion is imperfectly known" /cited in English/ (Armstrong-Métraux, p. 382).

614 812 773 He was found as an infant, who grew rapidly like any Indian child. He ate tuuma (12) and dressed like the Guajiro.

[262] 12. It was identified for me as tuna, which is the fruit of the Opuntia (Indian fig) and very well-known in South America. Cf. Vegamian, p. 214.

The mother was an old woman; her hut stood in the north. The father, a certain Saramai, was also said to be a god. [824 822] Because Mareiwa was born under an oil tree, this tree does

/537 cont./

614 212 773 [824 821] not lose its green leaves, even in the dry season. The Indians seek shelter under its branches during storms, because lightning will not strike there.

/538/ Mareiwa created an Indian woman named Borunka; she became the mother of all the Guajiro people (13).

[114]

13. Chaves (1953, p. 181) reports another myth of the "Origen de los Guajiros," in which, however, the totem clans are not mentioned; therefore, no contradiction of the myth presented here can be brought forward from there.

He also gave her a companion, by whom she became pregnant. When the time of her delivery came, however, she felt incapable of giving birth. The pains lasted for three days without delivery. Her vagina was set with teeth. Mareiwa removed them. At the same time he took two ribs, the lowest one from each side, from her mate. He inserted them in Borunka so that she could later give birth without hindrance, though not without pain.

614 212 773 825 844 Since loss of blood was connected with delivery since then, Mareiwa summoned all the birds. He commanded the sangre de toro, or pincwait, to wash itself where the birth took place. He gave the same order to the troupials (weaver birds of the family Icteridae), as well as to the icó [ishu, Phoenicotraupis rubra] with the black wings, whose breast feathers and head-tuft are red in color, and finally to the macaws. The woodpecker [Ceophloeus lineatus] arrived late for this bath. Mareiwa said to him, "You came late, to be sure, but I shall paint your tuft anyway," and he painted it red. Thus, the birds mentioned have red spots in their plumage.

614 212 773 Borunka bore several children, and the Guajiro proceeded to multiply. When there were many of them, Mareiwa

/538 cont./

614 212 773 returned to them. He distributed among them the seeds of the watermelon (Citrullus vulgaris), maize (Zea), squash, and all the other vegetables with which the Guajiro nourish themselves. Until that time no Guajiro had laid out a seeded field; before that anyone who wished to eat had reached for the fruit that grew by itself. Mareiwa gathered all the

614 212 773 825 zancalargas (thin-legged grallatores) and weaver birds; he commanded a flock of them to go far away and feed on iguarayas (cereals) and the fruit of the Indian fig (Opuntia). He likewise summoned a flock of rock pigeons; they brought hepechi cherries. Then he distributed the birds over all of Guajira. With their excrement they were to make the simultaneously eliminated seeds germinate; the latter were to grow and cover the whole land with a blanket of plants on which fruit would ripen and serve the people for food.

614 212 773 Mareiwa handed over to each native man a pair of goats, donkeys, cattle, horses, and pigs. Then he assembled all the people with their animals in the district of Arachi near Siapana. There, on a cliff, he engraved the symbols, one of which he intended to assign to each of the family groups, the children of Borunka. They are still visible today on that cliff.

Thus he established there the sign-patterns for the Epiayú, Ipuana, Uriana, Sapuana, Jayariyú, Apshana, Sijuana, Urariyú, Epinayú, Jitnú, Soriyú, Pausayú, Uriyú, Woriyú, Urenanaka, Matpishana, Uyarayú, Wariruyú, Jusayú, Woruboruyú, and others. Mareiwa handed over these property marks to the people in order that the movable property of one group would not be mistaken for that of the others.

614 212 773 825 422 Each group has its animal-sign by means of which it distinguishes its property from that of the other groups. This happened for the following reason: these animals were to have become Indians. But they ate the herds that Mareiwa had assigned to each group. As punishment he left them in their animal state as symbols of the individual groups which

/538 cont./

614 had been insulted or harmed by them. Thus, the leader of
212 the black vultures /Coragyps atratus foetens/ had eaten a
773 head of cattle of the Epiayú, and he therefore remained the
825 symbol for this group. The caricari /Brazilian falcon/ de-
427 voured an animal of the Ipuana group. The Uriana people now have as their totem-animal the jaguar (Felis onca). The Sapuana group claims for itself the alcaraván /stone curlew/ (Burhinus bistriatus vocifer), the Jayariyú people the dog, the Apshana the kite, the Sijuana the wasp, the Urariyú the rattlesnake (Crotalus terrificius), the Jitnú people the fox (Canis azarae), the Soriyú people the cataneja (macaw, Ara), the Pausayú the black wasp, the Uyarayú the deer (Cervus alaphus), etc.

614 /539/ V. Gutiérrez (p. 170) then presents another myth.
773 This describes how the individual totem-clans were assigned their names and definite districts of residence after a fateful, tragic scene of disobedience of the creatures against their creator took place. This report, too, emphatically brings out the fact that Mareiwa personally, by his will and authority, introduced a totemistic way of life for the first living beings in Guajira. The myth has the dramatic conclusion: "For the last time Mareiwa spoke with them [the totem groups] in order to take his leave. He therefore addressed them: It was my will that you should live here! I am leaving now; I shall be watching you from heaven."

614 The individual totem-districts with the thirty-four clan
101 names are noted on the map (14).[1/1] The appropriate clan-

193 14. The spelling and pronunciation
194 of the clan designations favored here
614 by and large resemble the Spanish sounds. Young Indians today feel a marked uncertainty in using the correct Spanish names for individual totem-animals; even in the pronunciation of the Guajiro designations

1/1 [see p.9.-Analyst]

/539 cont./

193 194 614 [128] a foreign observer encounters slight variations — as has just been mentioned. For this reason, in the table (p. 5) I put in the names corresponding with precisely the sounds that I heard most frequently; I have taken the map (p. 9) unchanged from the original.

614 101 178 101 578 614 marks are found in the table. Every Guajiro knows them. As an established tradition, every generation has taken over the details from the others, either as clan property or as a duty. But as a result of so many hostile encounters of the clans with one another — the Guajiro even in early times made themselves known as very quarrelsome — the boundaries of the individual clan-districts have shifted. Some clans have actually disappeared, either because their members were entirely destroyed or because individuals from them were incorporated into other clans. Therefore, the number and boundaries of the individual clan-districts were and are subject to insignificant fluctuations. I was unable to ascertain when the map provided — taken from a Colombian authority — was drawn; it appears to have come out around 1935. It is also found in V. Gutiérrez (p. xvi).

3. Concluding Remarks

614 [423] Spanish writers have reported on "castas" in Guajira from the early colonial period; the designation corresponds to actual totemistic clans. Recently it could be demonstrated that some thirty of them have existed since antiquity. The members of any one clan were entitled by common law to move freely over the whole peninsula without being hindered by the boundaries. When Petrullo (p. 155) states unmistakably,

/539 cont./

614 "Each caste holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory"
423 /cited in English/, he correctly presents each clan area as common property. Earlier observers must have already been aware of such circumstances, for they /540/ have represented them with desirable clarity. Such a definite clan-localization is based on the mythology.

614 In Guajira only well-known animals, toward which no reverent veneration is shown, are known as totems; also, avoidance rules do not exist. Clan membership is determined
611 by the mother. Many matriarchal laws and customs are observed strictly and conscientiously by the Indians; they have been described in detail by Sinons, Ernst, Petrullo, Santa Cruz, Armstrong-Métraux, Gutiérrez, Crist (1959), and others.

601 It should be added here that particular kinship-terms
614 were first gathered and published recently by J. Wilbert (p. 59). There are twenty-six basic terms and "most terms are applied to more than one relative so that the system is classificatory in type" /cited in English/.

614 Finally, the question as to whether the Guajiro feel themselves connected by kinship to their totem-animal is still to be answered. As the first, Jahn (p. 145) expressed himself on this: "Each faction regards some animal as its 'totem' or coat-of-arms. It has not been possible to find out whether they believe that they are descended from it; rather it appears to be a symbolic or heraldic emblem" /translated from the Spanish/. V. Gutiérrez (p. 173) expresses herself more decisively and informatively: "Actually there is no belief that they [the Guajiro] descended from it [= totem], nor is there any special prohibition against harming or killing it. The idea that in the representative animal is found the genesis does not seem to have existed even in the remote past. The origins that are come across in the legends do not include this idea. At present they laugh when one asks about the animal of his 'casta'; many confide... that they belong to the jaguar, to the bee, to the rattlesnake... They claim to be as brave as that animal..." /translated from the Spanish/.

/540 cont./

614 The continued influencing through a series of generations, even though nevertheless brief, by Spanish culture and the
614 177 178 spirit of modern times has finally also altered the primitive judgment and feeling of these Indians and has strengthened in them the pride to assert themselves now as "enlightened." It therefore need not be surprising that today they laugh in the face of a foreign visitor when the latter poses his questions as though he himself regarded a blood descent of the clan members from their totem animal as established and factual.
[123] The above-mentioned Cacique Briscol (15) even whispered

15. This pure-blooded, intelligent, and experienced Indian refers several times to the clans of his Guajiro people in his well-written story.

disrespectfully in my ear: "You must not suppose that we think of an animal when we present the totem as our ancestor. Every ancestor was as human as we are; only at the very beginning was he just like the totem that each clan has had since then. Our forefathers respected their totem animal more than we do today; they neither persecuted it nor ate its flesh. Now the habits of our ancestors are disappearing among us, one after another. There are now only sixteen independent
614 'castas'; their number was formerly double that." V. Gutiérrez
773 herself agreed with Briscol's interpretation when she presented
114 the introductory words to another myth, "The Distribution /541/ of the Clan Districts" (p. 170): Mareiwa "then told the birds they were Indians" /translated from the Spanish/. Such words make it clear: the myth knows no distinction between totem animal and Indian in their mode of being and acting! Therefore one does not get anywhere in the analysis of myths with a knife-sharp dialectic lacking any imagination.
614 Thus, I may indeed, along with the reporters from former times up to our day, regard the social division of the Guajiro people as properly totemistic in style. Two years ago (1959),

/541 cont./

614 Crist (p. 485) wrote: "The Indians of the Guajira are divided into various clans or blood groups, castas, each with its distinguishing totem representing the animal with whose traits, according to legend, the clan was originally imbued" /cited in English/.

614 212 The thought complex that has solidified around the totem of our Indians — to mention it once more in conclusion — gets significant confirmation of its truely totemistic character by the visible symbol for each one of the three dozen of them. None of these totem signs — whether one calls them clan signs, symbols, monograms, emblems, property marks, or something else — is revealed as typically [286] Christian or Spanish in design. The Indian women of olden times wove them into their pieces of weaving, and, as has already been mentioned above (p. 10), the men put their clan-signs on other objects. According to the myth, the [773] original ancestor of a given clan was assigned it in an individual presentation by Mareiwa himself, and it has been retained down to the present day. /See the foreign text for the list of "Sources Mentioned," pp. 541-542./

/542/ Supplement:

114 614 As a consequence of a long stay in East Asia, which I concluded a short time ago, two pertinent articles first came to my attention when the article presented here was already in printing:

[113] Santa Cruz, Antonio, "Acquiring Status in Guajiro Society," Anthropological Quarterly, 33, 1960, pp. 115-127.

Wilbert, Johannes, "Identificación Etno-Lingüística de Tribus Indígenas del Occidente de Venezuela," Mem. Soc. de Ciencias Natur. La Salle, 21, 1961, pp. 5-14.

Both articles refer to the clan-division among the Guajiro described by me. The almost completed printing of my article, however, does not permit me to discuss them in detail; therefore this brief reference must suffice.

631
634

[Information on clan-districts will be found in category 614.]